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**President:** Mr. Miguel Rafael URQUIA (El Salvador).

*Present:*

The representatives of the following States members of the Trusteeship Council: Australia, Belgium, China, El Salvador, France, Haiti, India, New Zealand, Syria, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The representatives of the following specialized agencies: International Labour Organisation; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

**Examination of conditions in the Trust Territory of Tanganyika: (a) annual report of the Administering Authority (T/1135, T/1149, T/1150, T/1158); (b) report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954 (T/1142, T/1162 and Add.1) (continued)**

[Agenda items 3 (a) and 5 (a)]

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Grattan-Bellew, special representative of the Administering Authority for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika, took a place at the Council table.*

GENERAL DEBATE

1. Mr. JAIPAL (India) said that, first, he would reply to certain allegations made by the Administering Authority about the report of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954 (T/1142).

2. The first part of the report was a purely factual record of what the Mission had seen or heard. The second part contained the Visiting Mission's views and recommendations. The Mission had recorded all the views that had been expressed to it, and it could hardly be blamed for not having recorded the views of persons it had not met. His delegation could not, therefore, accept the criticisms expressed in the first five paragraphs of the Administering Authority's observations (T/1162 and Add.1).

3. The Administering Authority had described as a fallacy the Visiting Mission's view that the best-watered and most fertile areas had been alienated to non-Africans. He pointed out, however, that the United Nations Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1951, had also said that most of the land

alienated was of good quality and situated in areas with good climate and rainfall (T/1032, para. 210).

4. He would not go into details of the alleged inaccuracies in portions of the Visiting Mission's report relating to the Meru problem, but would merely say that the facts reported had been derived from statements supplied by district commissioners and from the Wilson report.<sup>1</sup> The value of the report was not vitiated by minor inaccuracies in the statements made to the Mission by officials and others, which were unimportant and had in no way influenced the Mission's major recommendations. There were a number of unwarranted implications in the Administering Authority's observations which his delegation could not accept.

5. It was difficult to understand the reasons for the indignation expressed in the Tanganyika Press and for the opposition of the Administering Authority to the Mission's view that Tanganyika could become self-governing within from twenty to twenty-five years. General Assembly resolution 558 (VI) had invited the Administering Authority to estimate the time needed for the attainment of self-government, and since the Administering Authority had not submitted that information, it had clearly been the Visiting Mission's responsibility to express its views. It had been said that the Visiting Mission should have consulted local officials on the question. The Mission had, however, raised the question with the Governor of Tanganyika, who had replied that it would be better to discuss it in London; the representative of El Salvador had been informed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, in a manner which left no room for any further discussion of the point, that the Administering Authority was opposed to the time-table principle.

6. Paragraph 7 of the Administering Authority's observations admirably expressed its views on the subject, but the picture drawn in paragraphs 4 and 5 of the observations seemed unnecessarily grim. It was perhaps only a coincidence that those two paragraphs closely resembled the criticisms made by the Press of Tanganyika. Great stress had been laid on the effects of the proposal on outside investment in the Territory, and that raised the very important questions of how far political advancement should depend on non-African capital and enterprise, whether that was the only way of developing Tanganyika and, if so, what price the Africans were to pay. The Indian delegation could not agree that outside interests should dominate and even regulate African political advancement. It was obvious that too rapid political development might scare away foreign capital; on the other hand, an expression of faith in the possibility of Tanganyika's becoming self-governing should secure the immediate co-operation of all the forces of nationalism and make the Government's task considerably easier. Political advances in other parts of Africa were bound to have repercussions in Tanganyika and it would be quite unrealistic to fix the

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Arusha-Moshi Lands Commission, Tanganyika Territory. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1947.

target of self-government beyond the reach of the present generation.

7. There was greater freedom of organization, expression and criticism in Tanganyika than in certain other Trust Territories. The Administering Authority's policy had been essentially one of experimentation and the credit for the results should go not only to the Administration, but also to the Africans, who had demonstrated their will and capacity to develop. Progress would undoubtedly have been more rapid but for certain difficulties such as the size of the Territory, the diversity and dispersion of the population, the poor soil, shortage of food and lack of water; and there was no doubt that it would be speeded up and that in another ten years there would probably be a relatively stable and educated middle class. A statement of the Administering Authority's intention to grant self-government within from twenty to twenty-five years would inevitably hasten the attainment of such desirable objectives as the unification of the people, the breaking down of racial barriers and the democratization of local authorities.

8. It was difficult to see why the Administering Authority should object to a target for self-government for Tanganyika seeing that it had voted for a much shorter period of trusteeship for Somaliland under Italian administration.

9. The United Kingdom representative had said that two important conditions should be fulfilled before self-government was granted: first, there should be a large body of educated persons who could undertake the government of the Territory; and secondly, the resources of the country should be developed. In connexion with the first condition, it should be possible in from twenty to twenty-five years to train enough local inhabitants — Europeans, Asians and Africans — to replace the majority of the 2,800 European officials at present in the Territory. In connexion with the second condition, there was no reason why the Administering Authority could not invite the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to survey the economic potential of the Territory and then develop its resources with money borrowed from the Bank. Such development of the country, combined with development by private capital, should increase local production within the next twenty-five years enough to make the country economically viable.

10. It was disappointing that the Administering Authority, while rejecting the Visiting Mission's recommendation with regard to a time-table, had not proposed any alternative target but had merely emphasized the difficulties. He urged the Administering Authority to furnish its own target, as required by General Assembly resolution 558 (VI).

11. The Visiting Mission had suggested that the principle of parity of representation of the three main races on the unofficial bench of the Legislative Council should be maintained during the life of the present Council, in other words, for three years, and that thereafter there should be more Africans on the unofficial side than Europeans or Asians. There was nothing radical in that proposal. The presence of more Africans than Europeans or Asians on the unofficial side would serve two purposes: first, it would be a recognition of the fact that 99 per cent of the population was African; secondly, it would provide more Africans with experience in legislative work in a democratic organization. There were probably two

main reasons for the Administering Authority's rejection of the recommendation: first, the European group, which was in the majority in the Legislative Council and had accepted parity, was reluctant to make any further concessions; secondly, the Government was probably nervous that the existence of an African majority in an elected house might cause certain stresses and strains among the representatives of the other racial groups.

12. The Indian delegation's view was that the Europeans and Asians had obtained the maximum political influence they could ever hope to have in the Territory and that they must resign themselves to the inevitable increase of African political influence. That development would induce all communities to abandon their racial alignments and seek to co-operate with each other. The parity formula had been fixed arbitrarily as the most practical method of representation in the present circumstances. It was not based on any statistical evidence of the financial interests of the three main races, their numbers, their political maturity, or any other measurable factor. The Government had stated that the formula was based on the contribution of the various racial groups, but "contribution" was a wide and indefinite term. The danger of prolonged adherence to parity of representation along racial lines was that it might tend to isolate the three races into three separate *blocs* and produce a form of racialism that would be detrimental to the best interests of the community. He felt convinced that Tanganyika would emerge from the trusteeship administration as a predominantly African State, with minority groups enjoying the same rights as others and perhaps many special privileges which they might have earned by their contribution to the general welfare.

13. The special representative had introduced certain new ideas into the discussion, including the existence of 120 tribes of diverse character and also the interesting argument that only some 20,000 or 30,000 Africans were truly indigenous inhabitants of Tanganyika. He did not quite grasp the significance of that idea. The Government had already recognized the existence of three main groups — Europeans, Asians and Africans — and it would be very unwise to subdivide the Africans further. The Indian delegation was opposed to communal representation of any kind. A common electoral roll would be the only means of creating a feeling of unity among all the inhabitants of Tanganyika. The argument that there were 120 tribes in different stages of development suggested the possibility of political progress at the rate of the slowest and least developed groups, as well as that of tribal rivalries retarding national unity. But for the concept of multi-racial society and government, certain sections of Africans in Tanganyika would not have clamoured for a definition of the term "Tanganyikan" in terms of legal status so as to exclude the immigrant races. The aim should be the creation of a national identity and territorial consciousness by measures such as detribalization, a common language, one citizenship, abolition by law of discrimination, the removal of communal representation, adult suffrage and a common roll.

14. With reference to the elective principle, he took issue with the view that the tempo of constitutional development should be what the Africans desired. In the political as in the economic field the Government's policy should be to educate the people. The main barrier to political progress at the present time was the absence

of elections. The system of nomination might produce good men, but it could not be representative nor could the men nominated be regarded as leaders. The European and Asian groups were setting a very poor example to the Africans by their reluctance to hold elections; indeed the Africans seemed more advanced in that respect, since they had some sort of elections for Native Authorities and for chiefs. The Europeans and Asians should be urged by the Government to hold elections for the appointment of their representatives in the Legislative Council and in the town councils. It was to be hoped also that in urban areas, where the Africans were no longer living under tribal authorities, elections would be held for the appointment of their representatives to the Legislative Council and other bodies. Unless an electoral system were introduced, there seemed to be no prospect of a transition from tribalism and feudalism to democracy. The Administering Authority had suggested that the introduction of the elective system would recognize communal divisions and thus perpetuate them. That might be true, but it was equally true of the present system.

15. A national movement was developing in Tanganyika, which stood for self-government on the basis of the equality of all. It was in favour of the elective principle and against racial discrimination. Its present leadership was moderate and the Government had nothing against it. He hoped that it would follow constitutional lines and would receive active encouragement to do so. He also hoped that there would be no conflict between the national movement and the traditional elements of African society.

16. With regard to the East Africa High Commission, there seemed to be some doubt in the minds of many Europeans, Asians and Africans as to whether the present arrangements operated to the advantage of Tanganyika. The Administering Authority had said that there could never be any political federation except with the free consent of the people and provided that it was not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the International Trusteeship System. Proposals for federation seemed to emanate periodically from non-African quarters, however, and there was evidently a need for a constant review of the administrative arrangements. As the Standing Committee on Administrative Unions was in no position to check the practical operation of the system, the Indian delegation was in favour of a periodic expert study of the High Commission, its practical operation in relation to Tanganyika and the economic advantages or disadvantages which it entailed.

17. He was glad to note that the economic progress of the Territory had been generally maintained and that the Government had plans for bringing more land under cultivation, for improving irrigation facilities and water resources, for exploiting mineral resources and extending credit facilities for Africans and for developing secondary industries.

18. The Government seemed to rely largely on non-African private capital for future development, but it should play a more direct role, particularly in the opening up of new areas. The Agricultural Department should be able, with some initial outlay, to clear and open up new areas, with the co-operation of the chiefs and the tribes. It could also advise the Africans on the crops to be grown or the ranches to be set up, by practical demonstration in the shape of pilot schemes. That would appear to be a better way of opening up the 70 million acres of unoccupied but usable land than

depending on the enterprising white settler. He hoped the Administering Authority would discuss that question with the International Bank to see whether the land could not be progressively brought into planned production with international financial assistance.

19. Since the Territory's economy was largely agricultural, African production should be increased and African farming methods improved, with direct assistance and guidance from the Government. It was more important to help the African to meet his primary needs by increasing his own production than to divert him to commerce and industry. Greater emphasis on agricultural and land development would also tend to stabilize the tribes and facilitate their democratization. There was, however, considerable merit in diverting Africans in over-crowded areas to commerce and industry.

20. He had noted with satisfaction the progress made by the co-operative movement. Co-operative development was well-suited to African society, in which the principles of self-help and mutual aid were well understood. The solution of many local problems could probably be found in a general extension of that communal approach.

21. The African's lack of interest in a cash income was disquieting. Tribal self-sufficiency must give place to production for national self-sufficiency, and it was to be hoped that, with educational measures and with the increasing needs of the Africans, a cash economy would be more widely accepted in the near future.

22. A problem that loomed large in African minds was land and its alienation for white settlers. Land was the African's main visible asset and he needed it to provide for the increase in the African population. The Government realized that the land problem was full of difficulties and in the Indian delegation's view it would be advisable to alienate no more land for agricultural development by individual immigrant settlers except where it would be demonstrably in the public interest and had the full acceptance of the Africans. He welcomed the Administering Authority's assurance that there would be enough land to meet the needs of future generations. He hoped that alienated land re-acquired by the Government would be allocated for African utilization, with government assistance wherever feasible. With regard to the right of occupancy, he was unable to appreciate the reasons for the extension of the maximum period of initial leasehold from thirty-three to ninety-nine years. In his view the maximum term for the right of occupancy of new land should ordinarily not exceed thirty-three years.

23. With regard to the Meru case, he did not think the Visiting Mission had exaggerated the feelings of the Meru people in connexion with the loss of their land. The fact that there had been no violence was due chiefly to the restraint exercised by the Meru leaders and the Christian missionaries. He hoped that the Government would follow a conciliatory policy in the matter.

24. In the social and educational spheres great progress had been made, particularly in the attempts to establish fair working conditions for employees, in urban housing, in increased medical and health services and in African education. One matter of concern, however, was the continuing gap between the majority of the Africans and the other communities. Many Africans and Asians attributed to racial prejudice the existence of separate schools for the three races, separate housing

and differences in salaries and accommodation. Some hotels practised discrimination. It was difficult to reconcile that state of affairs with the concept of a multi-racial society. A general campaign might well be planned to educate the various communities about their responsibilities to each other. The Government should also consider the possibility of introducing special legislation to make the practice of discrimination a criminal offence and should review the educational system in order to have a unified pattern for all, regardless of race.

25. In conclusion, he paid a warm tribute to the excellent work being done in Tanganyika by the officials and their wives, against great obstacles and under very difficult conditions.

26. Mr. BARGUES (France) observed that the administration of Tanganyika warranted very special attention from the Council not only because by its size, population and economic potentialities it was the most important of the Trust Territories, but because the Visiting Mission had laid before the Council a very valuable review of its recent progress and of the key problems affecting its future. The French delegation joined the Visiting Mission in paying a tribute to the Administering Authority for having established a constitutional framework for Tanganyika's political, economic, social and cultural development, and for guiding that development at a satisfactory rate. It agreed that, although the objectives of self-government and independence laid down in the Charter were still far off, perhaps a quarter of a century off even taking an optimistic view, the Territory had been brought to a stage of development at which it could be prepared for that ultimate status.

27. The solution of two major issues would have a decisive influence on the future of Tanganyika: the fixing of an official target date for its accession to self-government or independence; and the establishment of a multi-racial government. The first was a problem common to nearly all Trust Territories, including those administered by France. It was the view of the French delegation that it would be difficult and dangerous to fix a target date for self-governing status *a priori*, unless the Territory had reached a stage very close to that condition and unless the date was based on certainties. That was not the case in Tanganyika. The Territory could attain self-government only when it was sufficiently advanced politically, socially and economically, and care should be taken not to accord that status prematurely lest it find itself in political isolation. In those respects, France endorsed the Administering Authority's observations and the supporting evidence given by the special representative. Subject to those reservations, however, the Administering Authority was still obliged to lead the Territory towards the objective of self-government steadily, particularly by fostering the establishment of institutions adapted to local conditions, current needs and the aspirations of the inhabitants.

28. The second major issue—that of a multi-racial government—must be considered from the point of view of good policy, in other words, of realistic policy adapted to prevailing needs. As there were three different ethnic groups in Tanganyika, each at a different level of development, and each making significant contribution to the over-all progress of the Territory, they must be represented in government and administration. Equality of representation was a practical

system to the extent that it recognized the existence of the three racial groups and their individuality, and in so far as it was provisional and subject to change in the light of future political needs.

29. The economic progress of Tanganyika was highly satisfactory: it had been marked by an increase in the volume of trade and a rise in the standard of living. It was none the less regrettable that Africans participated to a very small extent in commercial activities, especially export. That lack of balance should be corrected, and the Administering Authority should be commended for its efforts in that direction: the failure of the Groundnut Scheme was being offset by the success of indigenous coffee-growing. The Administering Authority had also done good work in promoting the co-operative movement, although, given the level of development of the Africans, it still required strict official control.

30. Finally, the Administering Authority was demonstrating its concern for the progress of the Africans by setting aside 50 per cent of the regular budget for public expenditure, particularly for medical purposes, the co-operative movement, production of hydraulic power, and education.

31. Mr. S. S. LIU (China) said that he had found the Council's study of Tanganyika especially rewarding because it had been assisted not only by the Administering Authority's annual report<sup>2</sup> and observations and the special representative's statements, but also by the Visiting Mission's report and the testimony of two petitioners.

32. The wide divergence of view between the Visiting Mission and the Administering Authority on a target date for the Territory's self-government or independence was most regrettable. While the Administering Authority's caution was understandable, it was harder to explain its categorical opposition to what appeared to be a flexible scheme envisaging not only a final target date for the new status, but intermediate target dates for the various phases of development. The Chinese delegation felt that a time-table was desirable in both instances, and that the Administering Authority remained adamant because it under-estimated the potentialities of the inhabitants of the Territory, so brilliantly demonstrated by the President of the Tanganyika African National Union. With another ten to fifteen years of effort by the Administering Authority to raise the standards of the people, it was more than likely that the objective of self-government could be attained within the period suggested by the Visiting Mission.

33. The President of the Tanganyika African National Union had convinced the Chinese delegation that the claim of Sir Charles Phillips, Chairman of the Tanganyika Unofficial Members' Organisation, that his organization was the sole representative of public opinion, was unjustified. As an appointed, not an elected body, that group, regardless of its close contact with various sectors of the population, could not be regarded as representative.

34. It was gratifying that an African had been added to the Executive Council, and it was to be hoped that

<sup>2</sup> Report by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika under United Kingdom Trusteeship for the Year 1953, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954, Colonial No. 307.

more Africans would be added in future as qualified people become available.

35. While the system of equal representation for the three racial groups in the Legislative Council's unofficial membership would be an improvement over the existing system, it should not be perpetuated: the Administration should give further thought to establishing an African majority among the unofficial members at the end of three years. Although Tanganyika was a multi-racial society, the Africans constituted a majority and the three racial groups should be integrated as soon as possible and given African leadership.

36. The continued absence of universal adult suffrage was disturbing, although the elective process was gaining ground, particularly in the selection of local authorities. The Administration should accelerate the pace of development by establishing more town and local councils, and should guide the people towards an appreciation of the need for universal application of the selective process.

37. The Administering Authority was to be commended upon the good progress made in the various development schemes for increasing production and adding to cash crops, and for making the Territory self-sufficient with regard to primary foodstuffs. It had been wise to build additional grain storage facilities against drought or other emergencies. It should continue its praiseworthy efforts to foster the co-operative movement and to improve the water supply. It was to be hoped that the next annual report would contain fuller information on the Pangani and Rufiji river projects, the restrictions on trade imposed for balance-of-payments reasons, and the development of the mining industries. It would also be helpful to have statistics on national income within the next few years.

38. The Chinese delegation also looked forward to the report of the Royal Commission on Land and Population in East Africa. Its appointment had been a step in the right direction. Similarly, the increase in the African representation on the Land Utilization Board and the appointment of a land tenure adviser to work out a suitable system of land tenure for the Africans were welcome developments.

39. The Meru land case demanded urgent settlement. At the previous meeting, the petitioner from the Tanganyika African National Union had revealed the firm position of the local tribesmen on the issue, and the Administering Authority should not delay efforts to eliminate the Meru grievance and restore good relations with the tribe.

40. With regard to social advancement, the Chinese delegation was glad to note the more active role of women in Tanganyikan life, but agreed with UNESCO that girls' education warranted special study in the next few years (T/1150, para. 158). It again emphasized the need for drastic measures to eradicate racial discrimination, and hoped that the next annual report would show the elimination of penal sanctions from the new employment ordinance. It was gratified to learn that steps had been taken to introduce trade unionism in the Territory; Africans should be trained in trade-union principles and methods, and assistance should be obtained from experienced trade-union leaders abroad. With regard to medical and health problems, it commended the report of the World Health Organization (T/1158) to the Administering Authority. It found the urban housing scheme good and hoped that the

hesitancy to use the African Urban Housing Loan Fund would soon be overcome. A similar scheme should be introduced to improve rural housing and to convince the Africans of the advantages of better living quarters than their traditional houses.

41. Mr. TARAIZI (Syria) congratulated the Visiting Mission on its excellent report. It was regrettable that some of its conclusions did not meet with the agreement of the Administering Authority or the Tanganyika Unofficial Members' Organisation. In that connexion, he challenged the claim of the Chairman of that organization to represent public opinion.

42. He endorsed the Visiting Mission's conclusions on the organization of a multi-racial society in Tanganyika. The Administering Authority contended that the multi-racial structure of society was a matter of fact and not of policy. Unfortunately, however, rather than attempting to break down the racial stratification the Administering Authority appeared to feel that it should be reinforced by legislative and administrative action. The justification advanced, that each of the three racial groups had its own needs and aspirations, was untenable: a human being was a human being wherever he lived and segregation and separation could never be justified. He was not accusing the Administering Authority of pursuing a policy of racial discrimination, but, if the present trend in Tanganyika continued, it could not fail to induce bitterness among the Africans, who were the majority of the population and the core of the community.

43. The Visiting Mission had certainly not exceeded its competence in proposing the setting of a date for Tanganyikan self-government or independence. He endorsed the Indian representative's remarks in that connexion. The criticism directed at the Mission by the Administering Authority and the Chairman of the Unofficial Members' Organisation was unconvincing; it was scarcely conceivable that the Mission's conclusions would inevitably act as a brake on economic activity in the Territory. Other African Territories were already on the threshold of independence and twenty to twenty-five years seemed a more than reasonable period to allow in the case of Tanganyika. The immediate setting of a date would serve as a spur to the indigenous population and the Administering Authority alike. African society was developing rapidly and its more advanced elements had already given proof of their intelligence and ability. If they were one day to assume responsibility for the management of their own affairs, their education must be completed and their economy expanded.

44. He deprecated the fact that representation in the Legislative and Executive Councils was based on the multi-racial principle and that there was an official majority in both. A corollary of the multi-racial concept of society was the principle of parity of representation. It was scarcely fair that the Africans, who were both the indigenous inhabitants and the majority, should have only as many representatives as the Asians and the Europeans. The Administering Authority admittedly intended to modify the composition of the Legislative Council, but it was not prepared to adopt a common system of representation rather than the existing communal system. His delegation shared the Visiting Mission's view that representation on a racial basis should not be maintained. The transitional period advocated by the Administering Authority should be made as short as possible and, at its close, any Euro-

peans or Asians on the Legislative or Executive Councils should represent the nation as a whole and not hold their seats merely by virtue of their racial origin. Once all the elements of the population had been integrated into a single society, parity of representation would no longer be necessary to protect any specific minority.

45. The establishment of the Municipal Council at Dar es Salaam was undoubtedly a step forward. It was regrettable, however, that it, too, should be based on the principles of multi-racialism and parity. There was considerable need for local government reform, particularly as far as the Native Authorities were concerned.

46. It was unfortunate that so far the members of almost all governmental bodies were nominated by the Administering Authority. He agreed with the Visiting Mission on the need for introducing the elective principle. The suggestion that that principle should be gradually introduced in the Legislative Council appeared to be very moderate and it had been supported by the representative of the Tanganyika African National Union. Furthermore, the Trusteeship Council had already expressed the hope that universal suffrage based on a common roll would be introduced as soon as possible (A/2680, p. 45). Universal suffrage would be one way of ensuring non-racial representation.

47. Another way of training the Africans in self-government was to increase the number of African civil servants, and he endorsed the Visiting Mission's suggestion that the Administering Authority should establish a list of posts which might be filled by Africans either immediately or after local training or training abroad.

48. The documents before the Council clearly showed that the union between Tanganyika and the neighbouring Territories of Kenya and Uganda went far beyond a customs and fiscal union. Indeed, it had its own personality, expressed in the High Commission. That body was responsible for defence, industrial planning, railways, customs and the collection of income tax, among other matters, and it exercised legislative powers through the Central Legislative Assembly. There could be no doubt that it was the prototype of a federal organization and that it was regarded with fear and suspicion by various organizations in the Trust Territory. The inhabitants of Tanganyika had no desire to be integrated politically with any other Territory.

49. In the economic field, he stressed the need for carrying out agrarian reforms based on a land register and a uniform system of land tenure. The Administering Authority had established a certain number of experimental stations, but there was still an urgent need for improving African agricultural methods. The Meru land question was still unsolved and he agreed with the Visiting Mission's conclusions on that matter.

50. One of the most urgent social needs was the need to eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination. Discrimination was not recognized by the law, and there seemed no reason why it should not be explicitly prohibited. The existing racial segregation was obviously based on differences in the standard of living of the various sectors of the population, and the African masses could not continue to live in conditions which retarded their advancement. The number of African doctors was deplorably low and the Administering Authority should take steps to bring about a progressive increase.

51. He was astonished that the courts in the Territory, which were presided over by European magistrates, should continue to inflict corporal punishment. It was a general principle of British constitutional law that where local custom was contrary to the principle of justice, it no longer applied. There would therefore seem to be every reason for abolishing corporal punishment in the Trust Territory, and he urged the Administering Authority to take immediate steps to that effect.

52. The existence of separate schools for each of the three racial groups was quite unjustified, particularly at the secondary level, where the teaching was in English and arguments based on the advantages of teaching in the vernacular were no longer valid. The number of secondary schools was inadequate to the Territory's needs; students seeking higher education had to go to Makerere College, in Uganda. The special representative had estimated that about 3,000 students were attending establishments of higher education; that seemed a very low figure for a population of 8 million.

53. Mr. RYCKMANS (Belgium) said that it was clear from the annual report and the statements of the United Kingdom representative and the special representative that the Administering Authority had constantly in mind the final objectives of the International Trusteeship System and was consistently working towards them.

54. He would deal with the Visiting Mission's conception of its role when the Council came to examine conditions in Ruanda-Urundi. Suffice it for the moment to say that his delegation was not prepared to ask the Administering Authority to state immediately when it believed Tanganyika would be prepared for self-government or independence. If the Administering Authority refused to set a date, that was because it was impossible to do so. Divergencies of view on the matter obviously existed among the Africans themselves: those who thought that the Territory would be prepared for independence in ten years, for example, would inevitably be deeply disappointed if the Administering Authority specified fifteen years. On the other hand, some of the customary authorities clung tenaciously to their old traditions; they would see the setting of an early date as a betrayal. Indeed, in the case of some tribal authorities, it would not spur them on to progress—as the Visiting Mission claimed—but rather encourage them to stall off reforms as long as possible, for some might hope that, upon the departure of the Administering Authority, there could be a relapse into the old ways.

55. Parity of representation was another question on which the majority of the Visiting Mission and the Administering Authority did not agree. The Administration had never claimed that parity of representation was ideal. In the interests of political stability it had persuaded each racial group to abandon certain of its privileges or claims and to accept parity as a workable compromise formula. The whole value of the compromise would be lost and political stability endangered if the Administering Authority were now to announce that further changes were imminent. It was therefore imperative that the present system should continue to apply for a considerable period, the length of which could not immediately be estimated. Indeed, the petitioner from the Tanganyika African National Union had admitted at the previous meeting that, if the ultimate objective of a society in which there were no

political or racial minorities had not been achieved by the time Tanganyika attained independence, it might be necessary to retain the parity system for minority protection.

56. The Council would note with satisfaction the progress achieved in equipping the Territory with harbour installations, railways, roads, water supply systems and other facilities, together with the growing part played by Africans in the expansion of cash crop production and the marketing of agricultural products.

57. The representative of the Tanganyika African National Union had stressed the importance of instilling in the indigenous inhabitants the idea that livestock were not the only criterion of social prestige and that there were other things on which they could spend their money. That would indeed be a very desirable step forward. In the meantime, however, many pastoral people still felt that they could put their money to no better use than buying an additional cow, an attitude of mind that resulted in considerable over-stocking. Some method of reducing the number of livestock must be found, but the problem was a complex one. Compulsory culling by an experienced veterinary officer had certain obvious advantages in that the quality of the livestock as a whole would be improved by eliminating the poorer specimens, but such a policy inevitably hit the poorer herdsmen hardest. The Council enjoyed great prestige among the indigenous inhabitants and it might express the hope that in certain areas herdsmen who were still hostile to the Administration's disease-control programmes should co-operate with the veteri-

nary service, for example in the control of rinderpest, a programme which was undertaken solely with their welfare in mind.

58. Considerable progress had been made by the Administering Authority in giving the workers vocational training. That would lead to increased productivity and was the best method of overcoming the difficulties encountered in connexion with output and attendance.

59. He fully agreed with the French and Indian representatives on the desirability of encouraging the co-operative movement. It was particularly suited to the African population as it enabled all the people to benefit by the experience and knowledge of a single individual, and to pool their limited resources to procure more modern equipment. The Council would certainly wish to commend the Administering Authority for its efforts in that connexion and would welcome the readiness with which some tribes, such as the Chagga, had adopted the co-operative system.

60. The growing desire for education on the part of the indigenous population was a noteworthy educational development. Increases had been registered in the number of girls attending school and the number of schools and general school facilities had improved. His delegation still felt that elementary education should continue to be free for Africans, although it recognized that there was some point in the Administering Authority's arguments to the contrary.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.